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ART. VI.—*Letters on the Eastern States.* New York, 12mo, pp. 356. Kirk & Mercein, 1820.

IT is not easy to conceive a more delicate employment than that of tracing the distinctions of national character. Besides the usual difficulty and ambiguity of all discussions of a moral nature, it involves obstacles peculiar to itself, and which increase of course in proportion to the importance of the individual subject of inquiry. We have all the varieties of national and local prejudice, all the influence of different policy, habits, and language to overcome, before we can pretend to consider ourselves as prepared to judge with accuracy of the phenomena which are constantly presented to us in the course of public events. How much more difficult is it then, to attempt not only to follow with tolerable success the course of foreign policy, and to enter however imperfectly into the public sentiment abroad, but to study the grounds of such policy and the nature of such views as existing in the character of nations. A still more difficult and uncertain kind of speculation is founded on those varieties of character and habits, which are supposed to be peculiar to nations, when not displayed so much in the policy of the government, as in the domestic manners, the degree of refinement, and the peculiarities of the internal society of a people. It certainly will be well for the cause of public improvement, when those, who undertake the exercise of this delicate and important part of duty, shall be led to consider themselves less as partizans and theorists, and more as observers and historians. We know of nothing more vexatious, than to encounter a man possessed of all the requisite literary qualifications, and who has enjoyed the advantages of a difficult and expensive voyage, to regions with regard to which we have a lively curiosity, and who yet presents you in his report such a strange compound of prejudice, favoritism, theory, and party interest, that nothing short of a laborious analysis will enable you to get at the truth which may lie at the bottom. One would think, however, though this held true of missionary and diplomatic voyages to the East, or colonization expeditions to Africa, that still we might expect the result of calm and philosophical observation, in the productions of men of leisure and accomplishments relating to their neighbours, with whom it is their duty and policy to be

best acquainted. Mr. Irving indeed, in his *Sketch Book*, remarks that he would trust an English traveller sooner in an account of a remote and unknown region, than of a neighbouring kingdom. And yet one is grieved to see a traveller passing through France, so infected with political prejudice, as to find there nothing but suffering and crime; or returning from every delightful excursion in Italy, with nothing but illustrations of her political infirmities. With regard to ourselves, we may not have those claims which Italy and France present to the indulgence of travellers. We have been sometimes visited, indeed, but principally by those, who, like the ancient philosopher, were willing 'to suck some profit from our courtesy.' After our complaisant guests have received the applause of their employers at Birmingham and Glasgow, for their accuracy in accounts of the state of the market and the nicety of their calculations of the prices of stock, they have commonly applied their enlightened and accomplished habits of observation to our moral and national character. And while one half of their reports has served to direct their employers in their shipments of broadcloth and hardware, the other has furnished the materials from which critics, philosophers, and statesmen 'flatter themselves that they are well acquainted with the American character.' How safe a dependence may be placed on these materials, even when presented on somewhat higher authority than that of mercantile clerks and agents, is seen in the assertion of Ensign Hall, who judiciously remarks, at the close of an elaborate essay on the internal politics of America, that 'the late war was unsupported by either party, who were desirous of shifting each upon the other the odium of projecting it.'

It has, indeed, been unfortunate for us that we have laboured under such peculiar disadvantages in the course of our examination before the very impartial tribunals of foreign supervision. This, however, begins to be understood, and at any rate we may congratulate ourselves on the determination which seems to have been lately made among us, not to plead guilty to every charge, however boldly and confidently preferred.

Not to engage in the discussion so often repeated, why America is not a book-making country, nor to insist on the difference between this and a book-reading and book-under-

standing country, we may remark, that in no connexion has the want of book-making among us been productive of more visible evil, than in this, that we leave it to foreigners to describe us. It is some excuse for believing, we had almost said for fabricating false accounts of us, that we ourselves, whose business it is, have done so little toward furnishing the world with true ones. The work before us is entitled therefore to the higher commendation, as being, on the whole, the most respectable effort which has been made toward a description of the local manners, character, and peculiarities of any portion of our country. So long as its author chooses to remain anonymous, a protection from criticism, which, we assure him, he has no need to assume, we must content ourselves with pronouncing his work to be evidently that of a scholar and a gentleman, of an impartial observer, a temperate champion, a liberal opponent, and a correct writer. Were we to speak of any general fault, it would be an occasional paucity of facts, which are the life, and substance, and foundation of all interest in works of this nature ; a fondness of running a little too far into disquisitions, which, however judicious, are not always sufficiently pertinent ; and a want, at times, of a liveliness in the style. But we are sure these defects are more than atoned for by the manly and national spirit which breathes in the work, by the true candour not consisting in insincere compliments to political adversaries, but in as fair an estimation as a person fond of one opinion can ever make of another, by singular freedom from the morose irony of sentiment, if we may so call it, which is remarkably infecting the literature of our countrymen beyond the sea, and by a correctness of language not often equalled by our American writers.

The work contains sixteen letters. They bear rather a desultory air in their titles, but seem nevertheless to be in fact systematically arranged. The importance of their subjects varies from literature, commerce, politics, and the fine arts, to ‘certain funeral ceremonies :’ the least important, though not the least pleasing of the letters. We shall make several extracts from them, with such remarks as they suggest to us.

The following account is given of the funeral ceremonies in the south of Italy.

‘ In the south of Italy, the last care of friends is to array the deceased in a full dress : if a man, his hair is powdered, a sword

put by his side, and a bouquet at his breast, and then the body is delivered to monks, or to one of those benevolent fraternities that devote themselves to the service of the hospitals and the burial of the dead. It is taken by them through the streets, exposed in the coffin serving for many generations, and carried to some church, where a mass being said over it, the sexton receives it into his possession, strips it naked, and *burns it*. Nothing can be more repulsive to unaccustomed eyes than this hideous contrast of ghastly death with the gaudy trappings of dress.' p. 9.

Without undertaking to dispute what is thus asserted without hesitation, we can only say that the burning of the dead, at the present day, in Italy, is a fact that had not before come to our knowledge. In those of the Italian cities, where we have had opportunities of making observation, the rich and noble are deposited beneath the churches, and the poor thrown into public vaults. Notwithstanding some revolting circumstances in the Italian funerals, few sights are more striking than that of a funeral train in the evening at Rome, composed of one or two of the fraternities alluded to in the extract just made from our author, all clad in a uniform, often white, with a mask of linen over the face, sweeping through the dusky streets with their lighted torches, and chanting, not rarely with fine voices, the solemn funeral service. The Turkish burying grounds present a more grateful spectacle to the eye, than any of which we have an account. At the head and foot of each grave, in those parts of the Turkish empire where the climate will allow it, is planted a cypress; that beautiful tree, which our severe winters unhappily deny to us, and which our author inadvertently recommends as an ornament in our grave yards. As the depositories of the departed are held sacred in Turkey, these groves of tall, rich cypress are never invaded, and increase with every year about the gates of the large cities. Without some of the gates of Constantinople, are funeral groves of this kind, covering many acres. and resorted to as an evening promenade. You literally pass through a city of the dead on the way to the city of the living; and the aspect of these trees shading the departed generations, the white grave-stones surmounted by turbans which are occasionally painted green, the grave-stones themselves covered with Turkish inscriptions and texts of the Koran, in raised characters, the groups seen walking, or reclining and smoking among them, while a *Cafegy* sets up

his little apparatus on the tomb-stone perhaps of an Emir, to furnish coffee to those who come to sit an hour beneath the cypress trees, form altogether one of the most picturesque scenes of the venerable East.

The chapter on politics, that subject which seems hopeless even in the hands of candour herself, is temperate and philosophical. The writer shows himself to be one who has been brought up in the old federal party ; and goes quite as far as a majority of his co-members will go with him, in commenting on the present dissolution of that party, and in fact, of that opposed to it, and the train of events by which this has taken place. As we hold it very important that some such views as our author entertains should be urgently inculcated on the American community, we request our readers' attention to the following extracts.

‘The federal party has in fact been extinct for some time. You will excuse me for dwelling at all on so obvious a truth, because a number of demagogues here have a lively interest in maintaining the contrary, as it gives them a pretension to that exclusive favour at Washington, which they would else be without. We also see occasionally some people at the south, beating the air with the cry of federalism, probably from habit. If the majority of people in the state of Maryland do not choose to be governed by the banditti of Baltimore ; or in Massachusetts are unwilling to displace a gallant revolutionary patriot, against whom no shadow of reproach can be cast ; and if these people are called federalists, it is still idle to talk of the federal party. In some states it had never any existence at all, and in many others has long ceased from any exertion. As its extinction was announced by no formal act, it cannot be dated exactly : it may be said to have terminated when the late war commenced, though an opportunity was then furnished it for renewal, which was lost, perhaps fortunately so ; or at least it expired with the termination of that war, and since the last presidential election, not a trace of it as a national party can be found.’ p. 23, 24.

If this should seem like hurrying off with too little ceremony a political association of a character so respectable, and of claims so high as the federal party, it will be considerably softened to those, who still cherish the distinction, by the following qualifications.

‘This party will have justice done to it by posterity. Its services or its errors I neither wish to magnify, nor extenuate.

When contemporary partialities and enmities shall be forgotten, it will be considered one of the most illustrious combinations to be found in the annals of freedom. But this is not the time to write its history ; there are too many yet alive, to borrow a figure of Mr. Grattan's, " who have sat by its cradle, and who have followed its hearse." Called into existence to administer and support that glorious constitution, which the wisdom of the states had adopted, it commenced its career with the purest feelings of patriotism. The nation held in pledge for an upright management of its affairs, the noblest reputation which modern times have known. Almost all the survivors of the revolutionary struggle, who had been eminent in the council or the field, were to be found in its ranks, and they who had achieved the independence of their country, were called upon to preserve it. Surrounded with difficulties in the outset, struggling against the undisguised ill will of one nation, and the insidious friendship of another, they had all the departments of the public service to create, and at the same time to adjust the machinery of a new government on a young, restive, and expanding nation. Envy, jealousy, and ambition were soon busily employed, to impede their progress, misrepresent their actions, and exaggerate their errors. The universal frenzy of the French Revolution brought timely aid to their exertions ; men's minds became so excited by the electric state of the times, that all sober judgment was prevented, and passion decided on the results of calculation. Fortunately it withstood the torrent long enough to save the nation from the incalculable evils of an alliance with revolutionary Europe ; in whose vortex, if we had once been involved, we should, when the whirlpool had subsided, like some others, have disappeared altogether, or rose to the surface disfigured, disgraced, and mutilated.

When this party was thrown out of power, its conduct in opposition, with very few exceptions, added new dignity to its former character. Exposed to a proscription the most universal, it received the assurance that there was no hope for personal ambition in its ranks, conveyed in the remarkable compliment, that the time did not exist when it could only be inquired respecting a candidate for office, " is he honest ? is he capable ? is he attached to the constitution ?" Yet with true magnanimity, they struggled hard to defend, for the interests of the nation, those institutions from which they were precluded, against the short-sightedness, bigotry, and zeal of an increasing, angry, intolerant party. They strove to preserve the edifices from which they had been driven, and to keep those who were in possession from devastating and destroying them. Their efforts were not wholly unavailing ; the army, navy, finance, judiciary, all suffered dilapidation,

and the nation enormous loss and subsequent mischief; but the foundations remained; and after a period, when some very poignant lessons had been inflicted by events, those who had exulted in the demolition, began to assist in their re-construction.' pp. 24, 25, 26.

These general views we think just; coming from a federalist, they are magnanimous. It is a more curious question, than the causes which have weakened the old party discussions, what new divisions will succeed them. One is rather timid in hazarding prophecies, when one reflects what a caprice discovers itself in the organization and fortunes of parties in free countries, and remembers that it was the death of Pompey's wife, which overturned the Roman republic. For ourselves, we are inclined to think that there will be no permanent new division of parties at present. The Missouri question, which came as near forming such a new division as could have been done by any single question, nay by a large series of common political controversies, failed even in the moment of its own decision, to produce a perfect geographical organization. And notwithstanding the excitement felt at the time, it does not appear that a single subsequent vote, on any disconnected topic, was affected by a reference to the Missouri question. We doubt moreover whether any party, purely and unanimously *geographical*, can subsist among us. The old party divisions were nourished and kept up, by having, not state against state nor section against section, but town against town, ay, family against family, and the son against the father, and the son-in-law against the father-in-law, so that a man's foes were those of his own household. This makes hatred keen, deep, and precious. You do not care enough about people two thousand or one thousand miles off, to wage a speculative war with them, upon an interest in which you have only a limited community. It is when party spirit comes into the city, the village, and the house, and beats up for recruits among the thousand personal associations, old family quarrels, parish jealousies, neighbourly slights and affronts, rancorous recollections of school boy days, pinings at your neighbour's wider acres, or more numerous ships, or brighter children; when party spirit can mix up all these bitter drugs in her cup, it then acquires a rare and genuine bitterness. So long, therefore, as the question of slavery produces unan-

imity among our Southern and Western brethren, (and there was not a single defection among them in the last session, for we consider the states north-west of the Ohio as naturally prone here to go with the non slave holding states,) we think there is no danger of its becoming the ground of a permanent party division. Nothing, we think, can ever become the ground of such a division, which does not pierce through the great masses of the country, and set its individual atoms at war with each other. Separations of the states or sections of the states may indeed grow out of controversies, which produce an unanimous geographical opposition of opinion; but notwithstanding the unpleasant frequency with which allusions were made to a severance of the union, during the Missouri controversy, we apprehend no such disastrous result from any such measure. No separation of the states can ensue, but from vast positive inconveniences and sufferings bearing upon one portion of the states, in consequence of the union. No such oppression of the Northern states results from the existence or diffusion of slavery, since there is little doubt that the five slaves, who have three votes in Congress, fill up the places of at least five freemen on the soil, and that the slave-holding states really lose by this check on their white population, more than they gain by the ratio of representation.

For the same reason, that we do not think there was any danger that a new division of parties would grow out of the Missouri question, we are inclined to differ from a large number of our politicians, who look forward to an ultimate geographical division of the country into the Atlantic and Western parties. The same considerations hold here, that we just adduced in reference to the Missouri question. There is no ground of party animosity, in the circumstance of belonging severally to the Atlantic and transmontane states. There is nothing for the hostile feeling to begin upon. Moreover, the general national interests of the Atlantic and Western states are the same. The western regions will always wish for the naval power of the littoral states, to keep open the Mississippi; and on the other hand, every thing that could make it an object with any foreign power to be in alliance with the western country, would make it tenfold an object with us to continue in the same confederacy with them. No perfection, to which the navigation of the Mississippi can be

brought, will ever make the internal market of supply in the West a matter of indifference to the Middle States on the coast. And just in proportion to the increase of the western products in amount and value, will it be the interest of the navigating states to secure them to themselves for consumption or the carrying trade. We here leave out of view all those higher national and moral associations, which we think are gaining strength daily, and heightening the sympathy between the East and the West. We rejoice that there are such associations, to come in aid of considerations of interest, in strengthening the bonds of union. We rejoice in every thing which tends to call these associations into notice ; and for ourselves, instead of sharing the discontent, which has been felt, not extensively we trust, by some of our fellow citizens of New York, that the name of Ohio was given, by lot, to the fine ship lately launched from their dock yards, we should rather congratulate them on having their ship known by the name of a free republic, that has grown up from the wilderness with a rapidity, which seems to carry us back to the ages of romance.

We do not see, with respect to the main question before us, on what a new party division can be founded. That something will turn up to produce one, can hardly be doubted ; but whether it will be any thing more, for a long time, than an electioneering organization, growing out of personal attachment to various candidates for the presidency, we cannot say. For ourselves, we should deprecate such a state of things ; for notwithstanding all the evils resulting from an obstinate division of the country into two hostile parties, we think that a division produced or regulated merely by the personal intrigues of rival candidates for the presidency would be still more pernicious and corrupting.

It will depend on each individual reader's previous opinions, what justice he will ascribe to our author's general delineation of the principles of the federal party. It will be allowed, on all hands, that they are at least stated with clearness and moderation : and there will be, we imagine, but one opinion of the justice of the following remarks at the close of the chapter.

‘ Much of this is owing to local position, but it would be false modesty to deny, that much of it is owing to ourselves, to the patriotism, integrity, ability and moderation of our public men,

and to the intelligence and morality of our citizens at large. Our character and condition attract daily more and more of the attention of the world. The late war was productive of inestimable benefit in this way; it made us known and respected by other nations. Our youth and our distance had made us little regarded, often misrepresented, and very falsely appreciated. Dragged into war at the end of a long quarrel, which had desolated every nation in Europe, and given military glory an unfortunate superiority over all others, we soon gave decisive proofs that peace had not made us timid, nor liberty ungovernable. The vulgar glory which arises from gallantry and skill in war, we showed ourselves capable of attaining, not by an equivocal struggle with a weak nation, but in a hardy conflict with the strongest. Foreigners who see us abroad, or visit us at home, estimate us more justly, since recent events have dissipated so many prejudices. The old routine of calumny begins to be discontinued, and though some exaggeration may grow out of the re-action, we shall hereafter be better understood.' pp. 58, 59.

We quote these remarks, not as being new, but as being just and seasonable; and as conveying a great truth that our political and social privileges go far toward recompensing us for what accomplishments we still need. The author of an abstract of Seybert's Statistics, in the last Edinburgh Review which has reached us, besides asking 'who ever looks at an American picture or reads an American book,'* would also do well to ask, who ever saw an American popular assembly trampled down by dragoons, or heard of an American *habeas corpus* act suspended. The Corinthian capital may be quite becoming, but after all is not so necessary as the shaft. Let the walls of our cities sleep like Plato's on the ground, if we can have *men* within the simple furrow of the republic. And to any reproaches, which may be made on us for our deficiency in the accomplishments of an old, luxurious, and corrupted state of society, let us have our answer in the words of the honest barbarian: ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ ἐπεθύμουν· καλὸν γάρ μοι ἐδόκει εἶναι, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐλευθέρων εἶναι καὶ παῖσιν ἐλευθερίαν καταλείπειν.

* We should recommend the putting of the first of these questions to the Marquis of Stafford and Marquis of Lansdowne, who, if we are not misinformed, have not only looked at the pictures of Allston and Leslie, but actually bought them; and the other question, to the author of a late article in the Edinburgh Review, in which Mr. Cleaveland's Mineralogy is called the best work on the subject in the English language.

The letter on *Religion* contains considerable good matter, and is as judiciously written as you can expect from a layman. It is not quite rich enough in fact, and the attempt particularly to give a sketch of the history of religious *liberality* in Boston is deficient in correctness. This is a very curious question, to be solved by an investigation running far back into our history, and by no means to be settled by a few candid paragraphs. It stands on the covers of our Review, that it is devoted to no theological sect. And though some honourable men have paid their consciences the compliment of denying this, our readers can bear us witness that it is true; and it is in the full intention to be faithful to this pledge, that we except to the remarks on the subject of Episcopalianism, which close the third letter. As far as a written form of prayer is concerned, Presbyterians as we are, we are inclined to prefer it; well aware notwithstanding, that it is liable to some objections, particularly to the very one, usually made by Episcopalians to the practice of extemporaneous prayer, viz. ‘the impropriety of committing the solemn duty of praying for you, to another man.’ This is done equally by the Episcopalian and the Presbyterian. The Presbyterian confides this duty to the minister, who has grown up in the same region, perhaps in the same neighbourhood, whose mind is formed on the same model, who is personally connected with him, by the most sacred ties, and enabled in consequence of all this, if a man can ever be enabled to do it, to enter into the spirit and feelings of those, with whom and for whom he prays. While the Episcopalian confides this duty to the English prelates, who two hundred years ago compiled the book of Common Prayer from the Roman catholic missal, with as few alterations as their doctrines required; a compilation, which, in a few political articles, has been adapted to American use. Which prayers promise to be best adapted to the worshipper’s personal need?

But, says the Episcopalian, I have my prayer written, I can examine it before hand, and satisfy myself that it contains nothing which I disapprove; while the Presbyterian is at the mercy of the preacher, who may bolt out no one can foresee with what offensive matter. But this objection is theoretical, and of no practical importance among us. Were our ministers presented to their livings, it might be another thing. But where the people choose their minister, as with

us, there is really no danger of his shocking them, by putting up petitions, or expressing feelings, in which they cannot join. And surely no candid Episcopalian will deny, that there will as often be cases, in which the mind or conscience of an individual Episcopalian will be so peculiarly constructed, as to take offence at some portions of the printed service, as cases in which the extemporaneous devotions of the Congregational minister will be offensive to the feelings of his flock. And if it were supposed possible that prayers composed in another country and two centuries ago could prove perfectly and unanimously acceptable and appropriate to the feelings and characters of christians at the present day, then it is very clear that this could only be in consequence of a cold generality, by which they would lose as much in immediate pertinency, as they gained in comprehensive appropriateness.

Again, if a printed service fixes attention, repetition destroys interest, and leads to formality and lip-service. It is no uncommon thing to see the eyes wandering, while the lips are repeating by rote, what long familiarity has divested of its solemnity. For this reason, though we have said above that we should on the whole be pleased to have a form of written prayer introduced into our congregational churches, we would by no means have it confined to a single form of morning and evening prayer, but we would have a large collection of services, which would prevent the recurrence of the same form, more than three or four times a year. A good specimen of such a collection of services is found at the end of the prayer-book of King's chapel in Boston; though we are not able to say whether any public use is made of them. They would fill to great advantage the place which is taken up in the prayer-book of the episcopal church, by the barbarous translation of the Psalter.

The letter on commerce contains many fine remarks on the spirit of modern society, in opposition to that of the ancient world, and the agency of commerce in forming this spirit. We have no doubt that the author's doctrine would bear pushing even farther than he carries it, in the following observations.

‘The state of commerce, as it now exists in the world, has rendered many prejudices, originally just, and long hereditary, now obsolete. When the merchants of the world were in proportion

to its commerce, and little more than a groupe of peddlers and usurers, it was allowable to view them with contempt or hatred. But when their operations have extended, till a single individual employs more persons, and receives a greater income, than some princes, the case is altered. We have lately seen, that one of them might almost be considered a party at the Congress of Aix le Chapelle, without whose agency, at least, the sovereigns could not have terminated their arrangements. Mercantile transactions, by the extension of commerce, are widely diffused, and every man who has any thing beyond his own wants, is obliged to partake of them. The agriculturist, who employs any capital, must be extensively engaged in buying and selling; and he must be conversant with many commercial transactions, and keep in view the general state of commerce, or he will be a great loser. There are, besides, a large number of individuals, who as bankers, insurers, stockholders, or adventurers in different voyages, employ their capital in trade, though in a manner that leaves them great leisure for amusements or instruction. It is these numerous classes of individuals, with characters more or less elevated, that connect the profession of commerce with the leading ranks of society. Education in a free country is the chief test of respectability, and as the sons of merchants receive the same education with those of princes, and often profit by it more, it is the fault or the choice of the individual if his station be not conspicuous.' pp. 113, 114.

It is not uncommon to hear persons, who would be thought to reason not blindly from national prejudices and habits, but philosophically from the nature of things, assert the advantage and ornament resulting to society, from an hereditary order of nobility, and maintain that the want of such an order throws a vulgar, mercenary, business-like air upon the institutions and character of a nation. They say that there should be a class of men born and educated to administer the state; men whom high birth and hereditary fortune make independent of the patronage of the government, and the favour of the people, and men in whom the elegances and refinements of life may be cherished and descend improved, by transmission, from generation to generation of affluence and ease. This sounds tolerably well in theory; the only misfortune is, that all the truth, which it contains, is applicable only to ages long since, with all their institutions, numbered with what has been; and that in our modern state of society not a word of these fancied privileges holds in

point of fact. Six centuries ago, when the soil was covered with villains, when the population, as our author correctly states it, was divided between baron, priest, and peasant, it was a convenience to have an hereditary class, born to information and cultivation enough to administer the state. That is to say, as the feudal system wholly incapacitated the mass of the people from understanding or pursuing their interests, or rather left them no interests to understand or pursue, it was well that it left a certain class in a condition to manage the privileges which it secured to them. But all this is altered now. You allow the chance of birth to distinguish a man and to confer on him important rights, although he is not in consequence of this birth a whit better educated, better bred, or richer than many of his neighbours. It is impossible to distinguish an Earl or a Marquis in a drawing room or at a dinner table by his dress, by his manners, by his information; by any thing, in short, but a deal of courtesy which you see lavished upon him, for no mortal reason that you perceive, till the secret is disclosed to you, by hearing the magical ‘my lord.’ In this state of things, the conferring of great civil privileges upon the chance of birth which brings no other immunity with it, instead of a benefit, is an injury to society. Common sense teaches this, and observation teaches it too. The house of lords in England, though unquestionably the richest body of its size in the world, would find it hard perhaps to establish a proportionate character of independence. They are not a barrier between the people and the crown, but of necessity the allies of the crown against the people. Moreover, the gradation of ranks provides a bribe large enough and tempting enough to assail the sternest fortress of lordly independence; and an Earl with £50,000 a year, who would fain be a Marquis, or a Duke who would gladly be a minister, is as dependent ‘on the fountain of honour,’ as the candidate, who has to coax the populace for their suffrages. Besides, these same hereditary honours bear other fruits than those of good manners and courtesy; they often end in profligacy and imbecility, and the great characters of a nation, like the finest fruits, are oftener found wild in the forest of society, than raised from the seed. Nature, it is true, in scattering her gifts indiscriminately, does not withhold them from the aristocracy; but even in England, where birth enjoys such a paralyzing

predominance, it is the rank of active, professional, middle life, that furnishes the state with its wisest, greatest, and most honourable servants. And where the children of the aristocracy have distinguished themselves and gained a name as enlightened, practical, successful politicians, statesmen, and civilians, it is not in virtue of any quality derived from their parents, from any superior hereditary skill, but by being obliged, from the state of society, to descend more or less into the ranks of the people ; it is from being disciplined in the house of commons, to which they are admitted in consequence of that curious evasion of the English constitution which regards the son of Peer as a Commoner ; it is by being forced to march in the ranks and put their shoulders to the wheel, and live, and study, and work like citizens, that so much good has been brought out of the aristocracy in England.

We have but one more remark to make on this subject, that after all, it is not so much birth as rich birth, which is respected in that country. If it be objected to us, that we have no aristocracy in America, but the mercenary one of wealth, we may with truth reply, that the case differs but by a hair in England. The prodigious influence of the nobility, in that country, is mostly owing to their overgrown estates. A poor lord is as cold and powerless an existence, as the shadow of a withered branch cast by the waning moon on the waters. Moreover, there is no coronet so bright, which is not ready to restore its jewels from the mines of the city. The sons of Dukes marry the daughters of bankers, and the impoverished sultanas of the West end form alliances with the offspring of the nabobs of Lombard street, whom a university education, a tour on the continent, a commission in the army or navy, or a seat in parliament, if well backed with three per cent consols, polishes up into fit partners for the proudest daughters of dilapidated nobility. Now where the hereditary aristocracy is itself to be bought and sold, we hold it to be somewhat idle to sneer at an aristocracy of wealth. The true aristocracy, that which is most favorable to virtue and knowledge, would be the simple aristocracy of moral goodness. The condition of human nature requires that to this should be added the additional quality of intellectual talents, since mere goodness does not qualify a man to manage great concerns. The happiest state of society,

and that most favourable to the development of the highest models of character, would therefore be that where there were no other aristocracy but that of virtue and talents. But in proportion to the refinement and extent of social relations, the importance of wealth and the influence which it gives increase, and so a third element comes to be added to that combination of advantages, which we call aristocracy. Let but this wealth, by a constant partition of estates, return into the channels of society ; do not put it into the power of profligacy, intemperance, debauchery, and gaming, in violation of the laws of nature, to remain rich, and to transmit a princely estate to the heir of these vices, throw open all the paths of industry to all, who are willing to walk in them, and you will not much pervert the standard of things, by allowing to wealth that influence in society, which, under such circumstances, it may almost be said to deserve. But if you go further, if you take this wealth out of the market of merit, if you lock it up in iron mortmain, from which no industry or skill can draw into the public stock, nay, which profligacy and vice cannot, by the only redemption that belongs to profligacy and vice, scatter abroad for the public good, then you have, in the truest sense of the word, a mercenary aristocracy ; an aristocracy purely and exclusively built on money ; not alleviated, as with us, by the dependence of this wealth on many good qualities commonly necessary to acquire or keep it ; but resting on the grossest and basest foundation of a lucre, which no industry has acquired, nor temperance preserved, nor providence handed down, but which comes in a vile physical transmission.

Our author's letter on the literature of the Eastern States contains a series of just remarks, not confined in their pertinency to this part of the country, but equally applicable to the whole Union, and as interesting as any remarks upon this trite subject can be. We should not have reverted to it, but have considered the case too well understood by all sensible foreigners to need farther prosing, had not the article, in the last Edinburgh Review which has reached us, sagaciously started the whole controversy anew. The ingenious author of the abstract of Seybert's Statistics, in that number, appears highly pleased with a discovery which he has made, that the Americans have neither manufacturing, mechanical, literary, nor scientific skill ; and asks who sleeps on an American

blanket or reads an American poem, in the same breath, and apparently with the same estimation of the degree of power displayed in the two productions. We wish we were able to give him as satisfactory an answer to the one question as to the other ; but are sorry that while our blankets are quite as warm, and twice as cheap as the English, we have not yet been able to get a supply of native poetry into the market, at all adapted to the taste of the people, or proportioned to the consumption. But we take great pleasure in assuring our brethren abroad, whose confidence and want of information on American concerns stand, if they will believe us, in most ludicrous contrast, that the literary manufacture and literary profession is looking up among us. To talk seriously, we know of no subject on which so much has been said, with regard to which the judgments, even of respectable foreigners, have been marked with such a strange unfairness as this. We are at one time called a young country, and reproached with having produced none of the fruits of an age of primeval and Homeric freshness. As if a colony drafted from England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and kept connected by a constant commercial, political, and literary intercourse, could be young in any respect that is favourable to originality of literature. While on the other hand, this our just defence is turned into a battery against us ; and we are asked by other detractors why, with all this connexion and unity with the parent state, we have not produced, in our proportion, a literature equal to hers ; without adverting to the condition of a handful of men thrown upon a hemisphere where every career is open to every man, and the mind is either forced or drawn away from severer literary discipline by the hardships of an early settlement, or the want of patronage in a scattered community, or the seduction of pursuits which are more tempting to the love of power or of money. In short, why will any judicious European so stultify himself, as to maintain a natural inferiority of American intellect ; or denying any such inferiority, why will he not allow that every thing else must be the effect of circumstances, which are so rapidly ceasing to exist and operate, that before it crosses the Atlantic his censure often ceases to be deserved ? Our literary character is advancing with our political and civil progress ; we produce more and better books every year, our places of education are constantly improving, the tone of lite-

rary intercourse is regularly elevated, and the public taste growing daily more simple and pure. If this does not satisfy our brethren abroad, we are unable to satisfy them ; and nothing is left to us but to hold on our way ; and if we cannot congratulate ourselves upon their civility and sympathy, be stung at least to greater zeal by their taunts.

We shall, for the edification of our readers at home, allude to one circumstance which has had an unfavourable influence on our literary progress, to which, if we mistake not, our author has not adverted, viz. the number of our large towns that divide the patronage, which were scarce enough if collected, and thus leave us without a literary metropolis. We have three or four cities sufficiently large, wealthy, and refined to require no contemptible amount of literature to give a savour to their social intercourse. A division and dispersion thus ensues, and the evil, in itself great, is so aggravated by the want of mechanical accommodations, that it is much easier to send a small packet of books to Liverpool than to Philadelphia. We do not mean to say that this want of a literary metropolis is an insuperable obstacle to a high degree of literary eminence. Germany would furnish a remarkable refutation of such an assertion, did we make it. But in Germany the natural effect of scattering the learned throughout the cities and universities of that extensive country, is counteracted by the extreme density of the population, the want of paths by which the superfluous throng can travel the weary pilgrimage of life, the want of commerce to carry away the ardent or avaricious, the political tyranny that shuts the ambitious out of the administration, the feudal tenures that lock up the land, and the defined boundary drawn round each of the states of the old world, and thus cutting off at once that everlasting migration by which our generations are sown broadcast from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains. All these causes, we say, unite to counteract the want of a literary metropolis in Germany. When these causes shall exist with us, or the sole cause a dense population, we shall less feel the want of a literary centre. But it is obvious that in proportion to the number of large towns in the country, which act as centres to that portion of the literary community within their attraction, the period necessary to fill up the intermediate spaces, and bring upon all the salutary pressure of a keen competition, must be protracted. It has some times occurred

to us, mean time, that a little might be done toward producing a greater sympathy and concert among the distant members of our literary community. Why might not our scientific and philosophical societies in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, be united into one respectable institute, whose joint efforts and resources would be adequate to the stated publication of a volume of transactions that would do honour to the country, whose meetings and conferences could not but nourish a larger and more catholic spirit than now prevails in our literary community, and thus bring to bear on one point, with proportioned efficacy, the forces that are now exerted to far less purpose in so many different directions.

In his letter on the fine arts, our author indulges in some anticipations of our improvement, which, we hope, while he utters them, are proving just. Though it has been the standing shame of the metropolis of the Eastern States, that it has remained so long without an institution for the fine arts, or at least the common convenience of an exhibition-room, we are not without hope that this reproach will be soon wiped away, and as we are now producing pictures worth looking at, that we shall not continue without a hall that is fit to show them in. With respect to architecture, the remarks of our author are so just and seasonable, that we cannot forbear a long extract of them.

‘There is one of the arts that is so indispensable in almost all climates of the world, that every people, above the condition of troglodytes, are obliged to recur to it.’ Shelter, in many countries, is as necessary as food, yet how imperfect with us is the art that prepares it. How few buildings in this country, either public or private, are constructed with a due regard to the principles of beauty, or a wise distribution as to convenience for the occupants. How often are they left to mere mechanics, who erect them with the aid of the ‘Builder’s Assistant,’ with about the same degree of success that would be obtained in a correspondence, guided by the ‘Complete Letter Writer.’ Surely, next to agriculture, architecture should receive the fostering care of the state, when so much of the economy, the appearance, and the comfort of a country, depend on its being well understood, and thoroughly adapted to all the wide variety of purposes to which it is subservient.

‘A foundation for a school of architecture is now peculiarly necessary. Our buildings, public and private, are every year becoming more important and expensive. Our race of wooden

buildings are annually decaying, and more permanent ones erecting in their stead. Bad and inconvenient plans and designs, violating the principles of the art, are now more than ever to be deplored; because, when of wood, they might have decayed, or been burnt up; but now, all blunders will last for centuries. Almost every year there are some churches building;—what a pity that we could not get a style of building better suited to the purpose of religious worship, than those awkward wooden lanterns, that are almost every where exhibited. The period has now gone by, when the spirit of religious dissent, which proscribed the Lord's Prayer, and the reading of the Bible, determined also to dispense with every thing like dignity and solemnity in churches, as abominations, that would lead to dangerous errors. Probably, in many parishes, they might now be brought to give up having a window to each pew, out of which they could all stare at any passing object, whilst the minister was performing their duty of devotion; and they might be induced to have their meeting-house so constructed, that the congregation should be separated from all exterior objects, and being freed from the glare of sunshine and cross lights, find, in the solemnity of more sober tones and perfect seclusion, appropriate situation for the exercises of devotion.* 154—156.

Milizia, the most approved modern writer on architecture, has a remark to the following effect: 'The main cause which has produced the decline or impeded the progress of the arts and sciences, is the ignorance of its professors. But in architecture, another most powerful cause conspires with this, the ignorance of employers. It is not enough to have intelligent architects; it is necessary that those, who employ them, should also have a competent acquaintance with the art.*' This remark of the Italian author may serve as a preface to the following statements from the work before us.

'Trinity church, in the Gothic style, at New Haven, is the handsomest church in this part of the Union; there are in Boston, Providence, and in some other towns, places of public worship that are not destitute of merit, but it is united with great defects. It would be an invidious task to point out all these, but there are two cases when bad taste has operated to destroy a good effect, where it might have been produced, that may be mentioned as examples. A church was built a few years since in Boston, for which the original design was very handsome. It was intended

* *Principj di Architettura Civile* di Francesco Milizia, Sza Ed. Basano. 1813. tom. iii. 219.

to be a parallelogram, with a Doric portico ; the walls were plain, with large windows, making only one story, and built of a beautiful white granite. Thus far the original design ; but the plans of an architect have to pass through the hands of a committee. The first thing that was done, was to add a steeple ; a very pretty one ; and this though a sort of monster in the architecture, is justifiable, from the agreeable effect it produces at a distance : no church indeed ought to be built without one ; a village spire is always picturesque, and awakens pleasing emotions ; and the effect of steeples and domes, in giving an air of animation and grandeur to a town, may be judged of negatively, by seeing what a dull, lifeless, unmeaning aspect Philadelphia presents to the observer without, though it is such a handsome city within. The next alteration was to change the form to an octagon, a figure which is appropriate enough for a crystal, but is an absurdity in architecture. The portico was Doric, but these columns, though made of wood, were with an Ionic proportion ! thus mutilating and destroying its whole beauty. To remedy this glaring fault, an addition, which does not belong to the order, was put on at the bottom, to diminish their dyspeptic appearance, that only increased the disorder. If it had been proposed to paint one red, one green, one blue, one yellow, it would have been scoffed at as absurd ; and yet it would have been a less grievous blunder than has been committed now ; for it is not uncommon in Italy to see columns of different coloured marbles in the same edifice where the proportions are all alike. Fortunately these deformed columns are of wood, and must soon grow shabby. They will then perhaps be replaced by columns of the Nova Scotia freestone, which is easily worked, and is now getting into use here, for every thing where the chisel is required.' 157—159.

So long as our churches are likely to constitute by far the greater part of our public edifices, it were much to be wished that our taste should take a decidedly good direction in their construction. Much certainly has been done in this way. The new church in Baltimore is probably not surpassed in America for the pure and classic merits as well as the imposing qualities of architecture ; and to say that it is not perfect is merely to say that it is a modern building. The new episcopal church in Boston presents a front more purely classical than the church at Baltimore, and with such good examples in this generation, who knows but our posterity may get to relish the simple Doric majesty, from which the art for more than two thousand years has been declining.

The seventh letter is on ‘the relative rank of Americans,’ or rather on the absence of such a distinction. This is a subject, which one must have been the witness of a foreign aristocracy and the full grown babyisms of European heraldry, fully to understand. There is one thing which has always amused us, the simplicity with which some of the English censors have reprobated our use of titles; and as we have nothing more to the purpose of our own on this topic, we will venture to make a short extract from ‘the resolutions to be proposed in the house of representatives,’ which we quoted in our last number. ‘Whereas no little pleasantry and ridicule have, by various English writers, been thrown upon Americans for the assumption of such titles as *his excellency*, *the honourable*, &c. to which pleasantry and ridicule this house does not churlishly object, (being fond of a joke, so it be but a good one,) although these titles are not arbitrary, but always indicate some present or former post or charge, and are therefore convenient signs, and not empty names; resolved further, that a joint committee of the several antiquarian societies of America be raised, to examine into the origin of all those patents of nobility, in virtue of which sundry persons, subjects of H. B. majesty, do assume and take to themselves the designation of *his grace*, *my lord*, and *most noble*; to inquire whether the application of these titles be in any degree connected with personal merits, or trusts conferred on the bearer of them, whether a majority of them may not be traced to the exploits of cruel and barbarous ages, to the pleasure of corrupt or frivolous princes, unhappily regarded as the fountains of honour, to violent and rapacious seizure of estates by military force, and in all but a few instances to pure arbitrary descent, and whether under these premises the persons taking such titles and the people bestowing them can fairly ridicule those few simple designations, applied in some portions of America to those who have been raised by their fellow-citizens to offices or trusts thereby indicated.’

The eighth letter is on ‘the character and condition of women.’ In the middling classes of life, women as well as men, abating a few peculiarities incident to climate and geographical circumstances, are much the same, all the world over. The human nature, where it is not forced to the high extremes, nor sunken to the low ones, tends to a few simple conditions and habits, which are found almost every where.

But in the highest and lowest ranks of life, the great national differences exist, and in nothing more than in the character and condition of women. The corrupt influence and power, which they acquire, in the higher ranks of most of the countries in the old world, by sacrifices fatal to the true excellence of female character, produce a state of intercourse in those ranks, of which we have happily in this country not even a conception; while the out doors slavery, to which the female peasantry is subject in a greater or less degree, all over Europe, forms a spectacle equally abhorrent to our feelings and habits. Shepherdesses and hay-makers, with their straw hats on one ear, and clean white rakes, make a pretty figure in eclogues, on the stage, or on old fashioned patch furniture counterpanes and bed-curtains, but in real life it is something too much, to see the weaker sex condemned to both parts of the curse; in sorrow to bring forth children, and with the sweat of their face to till the ground. Savage, and barbarous, and over civilized life all tend, in this respect, to the same misery; and in the wretched provinces of Turkey, the rich counties of Germany, Italy, France, and England, and our own squalid Indian villages, the same spectacle of female toil and wretchedness is to be witnessed. We know of no community on earth where the natural destination of women to household and domestic life is so completely fulfilled among the labouring classes, as in our own country. In France, in the season of harvest, you may see the roads covered with reapers, women as well as men, travelling, for a hundred miles, from the more thickly settled districts, up to the wheat provinces, as the poor Irish come over to reap the English fields. The following remarks of our author are perfectly just.

‘To begin with the most numerous order,—with those who commence life with nothing but strength to labour for subsistence, and the hope of future competence:—In the country, or the towns, the females in this class are never exposed to work in the open air. All that is required out of doors is performed by the men. That the women are very assiduously, and even laboriously employed, every one may witness,—but their labours are almost wholly domestic, and performed under shelter. They are not seen driving market carts, standing in the streets, carrying heavy burdens, or engaged from morning to night in the open fields. They are not exposed to the inclemency of the weather, to the

promiscuous mingling with the crowds of a city, or in large groupes in the toils of the field. They live secluded in the performance of their household labours, and rarely meet in any assemblage, except when they go in their best attire, with decency and solemnity, to public worship.

‘ Besides, they have higher hopes than the labouring classes in Europe. The journeyman may look forward with certainty, to become, in a few years, if he has common skill and industry, a master workman in his turn. The farmer is not, as in Europe, a mere peasant, labouring on land which he never dreams of owning; but he is here a proprietor, and though he begins at first with only a log-house, and a piece of forest to be cleared, he is sure that, in the end, he shall possess a productive farm, and the means of comfortable subsistence. The women in these classes, who are often more refined and ambitious than the men, conduct themselves with a view to their future situation, and often stimulate their husbands to those exertions for acquiring property and improving their children, in which they are willing to participate. This prospect of bettering their condition, operates very favourably to them, since it encourages the men to domestic habits and economy, by knowing their savings will all be productive of very compound advantage, and that, as they advance in life, they may look forward to a comfortable support from the results of former labour.’ 177, 178.

Having, both in this and the preceding number of our journal, had occasion to express our opinions freely on the subjects of Agriculture and Manufactures and their respective importance to our country, it is unnecessary to dwell much on the letters in which these subjects are treated. With regard to the former, the author gives a preference to the use of oxen over horses, (p. 203) in which we believe the modern theories and most approved practice in agriculture, will not go along with him; though we should have been sorry to have missed his remarks on the subject, had their omission cost us, at the same time, the amusing picture of ‘the skilful teamster,’ that is introduced to illustrate them.

No person who has explored any portion of our sea-coast, and cast his eye on the thousand broad meadows which are given over, for want of a dike, to everlasting sterility, rendering our rivers near the coast almost inaccessible, and their banks unprofitable, but will join our author, in the following observations.

‘ There is another description of land, of which very large

tracts are found on every part of the sea-coast, which is a reproach to our agricultural management. I allude to the salt marshes. These are generally composed of a fat, rich soil, often several feet in depth. At present they produce a crop of hay, which is worth only half the price of the upland produce. Attempts have been made in many places to dike out the sea-water; in some few, the most luxuriant crops have followed; in most others, the natural grasses have been destroyed, the land run to waste, and after a few years, the salt water has been again admitted to cover them. Doubtless, the growth they furnish, the depth of soil, and other circumstances, may make some of these lands more difficult to be reclaimed than others. But I doubt whether most of the experiments have been well conducted, and whether they have not failed from being made imperfectly. Though the tide has been kept from overflowing the surface, the water within has been kept too near its level to permit the soil being properly freshened. Thousands and thousands of acres of land in England, that were once overflowed by the tide, have been embanked, and now produce the richest crops. In Flanders and Holland, half the country must have been originally in this situation; and lands now below the level of the tides produce not only the finest hay, but are cultivated with vegetables and grain. Some of the richest lands we have might be made to do the same here, and would afford the richest returns, instead of a sorry crop of salt hay. It is a prominent object in our agriculture, that a full experiment, on a large scale, should be made with these valuable lands, of which we possess such extensive tracts.' pp. 205, 206.

Such an attempt, we understand, is now making near New York, and it is perhaps to be wondered at, that the *diking* spirit of its original settlers had not broken out before. When one beholds the delightful meadows, which are thus rescued from the barren ocean in Holland and turned into an everlasting garden, one is tempted to wish that the Pilgrims had abode a little longer at Amsterdam and Leyden, before they came over to Plymouth; and then brought with them a taste for fresh meadows and embankments. It must be allowed, however, that it would wear rather a Quixotic appearance, to begin to make land on the east of our continent, while we have still to be settled a square of 3000 miles toward the west; nor can it in human fairness be asked of men to stand up to their middles in marsh mud, in order to make a dike, when for the wages of one day's labour in it, they can buy an acre of land, which will yield 50 bushels of wheat,

With all this, we confess we should rejoice to see some measures taken, to enlarge the limits of our Eastern metropolis, and to turn that abomination of desolation, which unites it with the continent, and is given over to salt herbs and the executioner, into a wholesome lawn or public walks or gardens. An expense, which the town would not feel, would be amply sufficient to exclude the tide, and admit of the space on either side in rear of the street being converted into parallel shaded approaches to the town, scarce inferior in beauty to the *champs elysées* at Paris. There are not many ways in which a generation can connect itself with posterity, by more grateful associations, than by these public works. A few acres of land left in common, and a few score elm-trees planted, in the first settlement of Boston, have given our town its greatest ornament, furnished it with the scene of all its festivities, with the place for convenient and wholesome exercise, and essentially increased the solid rational comfort of every class of the citizens, particularly of the poorer class. What has been done by the present generation, still farther to adorn this beautiful spot, will give them a proportionate place in the gratitude of posterity. Long after we, with all our gossiping vanities and intrigues, and insincere public services performed from private interest and ambition, and our gross luxuries in mahogany, rose-wood, and good cheer are passed by, and no memorial is left of our existence, a fine row of trees, which we had planted, would be a more beautiful and precious monument, than all that ever rose in brass or marble. This is generally enough admitted, when thus stated; but in point of practice, we are commonly content to imitate the example of the elder laird of Dumbiedikes, whose dying charge it was to his son: ‘Jock, when ye hae naething else to do, ye may be aye sticking in a tree; *it will be growing, Jock, when ye’re sleeping.* My father tauld me sae forty years sin’, but I ne’er fand time to mind him.’

The twelfth letter treats of the *past, present, and future state of the Indians*; a subject, which involves some questions of casuistry, and some of policy. It is a point sometimes mooted, not indeed by sincere moralists, but by political railers, who seize at any handle of national calumny, what right we or our fathers have or had to dispossess the aboriginal lords of the soil. This is an excellent question for disputation, for many of the arguments are on one side, while most of the truth

is on the other. Nothing seems clearer, in the abstract, than that the original incumbents are the rightful proprietors of the soil ; that it is not within the right of foreign intruders, under the pretence that they are civilized, while the incumbents are savage, to expel them from their possessions ; nor is such a right, not naturally possessed, to be acquired by such sort of purchases, as are commonly made by civilized colonists of savage owners. In short, half taught casuists are apt to shrug up their shoulders and look wise, when the subject of such purchases is mentioned, and leave to be shrewdly suspected, that the transaction is, after all, no better than a legal or a pious fraud. We are not at leisure to enter into the inquiry, how far the temper and character of our early settlers, or the actual policy of our government toward the natives, may justify this supercilious righteousness of censure. There may have been something suspicious in the tone of feeling of the early colonists, a little too frequent allusion to the invasion of Canaan, and an ominous disposition to return thanks for driving out the heathen. Our early historians exult, with an alarming complacency, over a pestilence, which is said to have raged among the natives a year or two before the landing at Plymouth, and to have covered the country, which first presented itself to our forefathers, with graves. But notwithstanding all these incitements to mild and charitable judgments, it must not be forgotten, that the property which rests in the mere right of possession depends on an extremely vague and indefinite tenure. It can scarcely be understood to extend beyond the limits of one organized civil society, where the established compensations, by which every citizen pays all the rest for protecting him in his possessions, may seem to furnish an equitable ground on which those possessions are held by him. This right of property may even acquire a benevolent extension, beyond the pale of the political organization that immediately protects it, and may be recognized by all similar organizations ; that is to say, there is a sort of common bond among all civilized nations, to respect certain pretensions to property over the soil occupied respectively by each other. And yet so extremely feeble is this right of property, as recognized by one nation in another, that two princes have but to affront each other and go to war, and all the stipulations supposed to exist are swept away, and you turn in your troops without scruple upon

the peaceful village of your neighbour. If such is the acknowledged frail foundation of the right in nations, who profess to be in alliance with each other by the bonds of civilization, on what good ground can a savage tribe lay claim to all the land that they can wander over in the chase, and to every forest, in which the deer seeks refuge from their arrows? Who has recognized their property, and what treaty has mankind entered into with them, to give them up fair continents to be so poorly improved? Naturally speaking, all men have a right to live on the earth; and a ship's company of exiles, forced by persecution, or a crowded population, or any other cause, to a barbarous coast, have as good a natural right to land and settle on it, as the native tribes to continue there to hunt and fish. To avoid present inconvenience and war, it is usual and most prudent to attempt to purchase a right of the incumbents, but it is clear, that they have no more natural property in the soil than you. If it be said in answer to this, that a tribe of savages might with equal reason invade a cultivated shore, and claim an equality of right with its civilized inhabitants, arguing that they were their own judges how a region ought to be inhabited, and that they held hunting and fishing to be a more proper mode of existence than tilling and pasturage, we answer, that in the dry, special pleading of the theory, this is true; and they must go to war, and the strongest be the rightful owner; as the barbarous nations did, when they came down from the wall of China, and took possession of the fair shores of the Mediterranean. But in common sense and practice, there is no confusion in this case; nor would any sincere moralist be inclined to put the settlement at Plymouth on the footing of the invasion of Great Britain by a horde of Esquimaux.

What ought to be our conduct, in the present state of things, towards the Indians, is a more important question, because it is one, which will decide our treatment of a large class of fellow men. It is tolerably well ascertained, that they cannot support the neighbourhood of civilization. Foreign and ignorant judges may sneer at this; but it is a simple fact, ascertained by experience. It would not be easy to substantiate a single act of violence, far less any systematically oppressive treatment toward the savages in this state, for instance, since the time when they had thirty churches in the neighbourhood of Boston, and some of them served by ministers of their own

race. And yet those churches, like so many others throughout our country, have vanished, and what is the cause? Simply this, that the Indians have either mingled with the whites, and thus been confounded with the mass, which has happened to so small a degree, as scarce to deserve to be mentioned; or remaining distinct have dwindled away in consequence of necessary checks on their increase, not implying a voluntary oppression on our part. Drunkenness and other vices, of which the aliment has been imparted to them, have thinned their numbers. They lived by hunting and fishing; we have cut down the forests, and killed the deer and the bears, and put to rout the beavers, and have built mill-dams across the rivers, and frightened away the salmon, and come in all hungry to divide the spoil of the shad and alewives. They must always have covered a very large tract with a very small population; and would naturally disappear, long before they had alienated all their lands. To take measures to preserve the Indians is to take measures to preserve so much barbarity, helplessness, and want, to the exclusion of so much industry and thriftiness. No personal injustice should be or is tolerated, but the laws which have for their end to keep up the existence of large bodies of half clad barbarians, who will not or cannot sustain themselves by the arts of civilized life, are laws to prevent comfort and improvement from taking place of misery and want. The object of true humanity is not blindly to better the condition of a given individual, whether he will be bettered or not, but to put a happier individual in the place of a less happy one. If it can be done by changing the nature of the latter, it is well; if it cannot, leave him to the operation of his character and habits; do not resist the order of providence, which is carrying him away, and when he is gone, a civilized man will step into his place, and your end is attained. Had the British government, when our settlements began, placed the whole of America under the administration of commissioners, and retained a right of preemption over all the lands, the United States would have been to this day a great—perhaps not a great—Massapee or Herring-pond parish.

Little, however, as we join the regret which is sometimes expressed at the vanishing of the Indian tribes, we heartily participate the wish, that, before they are gone forever, no pains should be spared and no time be lost in collecting their

traditions, describing their manners, and above all preserving specimens of their language ; which the late investigations have shown to be a philological phenomenon of the most striking kind. We are sure a great deal might be done in this way, by those who have the means of doing it, with a certain prospect of carrying the public curiosity and interest along with them. If the officers, who in the late war were stationed on the frontiers, and those whose official duty carries them in various civil capacities to the regions still inhabited by the Indian tribes, would but favour the public with their observations, and particularly with vocabularies of words, they would contribute to the only means now existing of tracing the descent of these once mighty nations, and of solving the great problem of the settlement of America. In want of any accurate information of this kind, we are somewhat at the mercy of vague and exaggerated reports, which we know not when or with what abatement to believe. Thus it was currently stated in the late war, that Tecumseh had conceived the plan of a grand confederacy of the Indians against the whites, and travelled from the northern lakes down to the Creeks and Seminoles to bring it into operation. This, for several reasons, seems to us unlikely ; the more so, as it is an extremely obvious fabrication. Precisely the same story is told in Weld's travels of the famous Brandt. As far as it is in either case true, it probably is limited to this, that these enterprising chiefs attempted to organize a confederacy among the neighbouring tribes, to a greater extent and on a more efficient footing than the common alliances. That any thing more than this could be conceived by a savage chief, even with the disinterested aid of white hunters and fur-traders, is from the nature of things scarcely credible.

The following account of the vagrant Indians one sometimes sees is curious.

‘ It is remarkable, how few of the natives are to be found in our population, and how rarely they blend with it. The discolourings from Indian are infinitely fewer than those arising from Negro mixture. The few that remain are not so numerous as the gipsies in many parts of Europe, to which they may in many points be compared. Two or three, or sometimes a larger groupe, perambulate the country, offering medicinal herbs, or brooms for sale, almost the only article they manufacture. They are a harmless set of beings, and lead a life of hardship, though not of la-

bour. I have sometimes thought, when I have seen some of these poor Indians, on the revolving turns of fate ; that here were the descendants perhaps of the Sachems, who once held the country, and made treaties with our ancestors, when they might have annihilated them, gaining a scanty livelihood from the charitable purchases of their posterity. They preserve most of the traits of the Indian character, though imbedded in civilization, and knowing no other language than the English. They are seldom seen to laugh, are prone to intoxication, yet obliged, from poverty, to have intervals of sobriety ; and in traversing the country, while they commonly make use of our roads, they retain a knowledge of its natural topography, and are never afraid of being lost in a forest, as they always know their direction, and often traverse the country, as was the primitive practice, from one stream to another, at the shortest carrying place, and still are acquainted with all the rivers and ponds, and the most probable places for finding game.' pp. 237, 238.

A small party of vagrants, of this description, was lately and is perhaps now wandering in our neighbourhood. One might easily have mistaken them for gipsies, but for the shade of copper colour, instead of the dark olive in their complexions. Their party of six or eight consisted of three generations, of whom the two first retained a little acquaintance with their native Indian dialect, which in the third was lost. They did not appear to share the quality, which is said to sit deep in gipsy blood, that of mistaking their neighbour's hen-roost for their own. Whether they would have been able to hold fast their integrity, through the tempting season of June-eating and early Catherine pears, we cannot undertake to say. While they honoured us with their presence, they led a mighty honest life of basket-weaving ; and it was no unpleasant sight, in the evening, to see the red flames and the heavy smoke curling up round a comfortable iron pot, which they understood how to keep boiling as well as their neighbours. Neither can they be said to have been devoid of taste ; for they took up their abode on about the pleasantest spot which the district contains, and added, by their romantic encampment, a new beauty to Jamaica Pond, of a kind we suppose not wholly to the taste of the neighbouring municipality ; who soon approved their descent from the pilgrims, and after a lapse of two or three weeks drove out these heathen without further ceremony.

We quote the following passage from the letter *on scenery and climate*, as a favourable specimen of the style of this work. It is an additional commendation, that there is no exaggeration in the comparative picture it presents of our own and the Ausonian climates.

‘ In connexion with our climate, the appearance of our atmosphere may be considered ; and the lover of picturesque beauty will find this a fruitful source of it. The same inequalities will be found here that take place in the measure of heat and cold, and an equal number of contrasts and varieties. We have many of those days, when a murky vapourishness is diffused through the air, dimming the lustre of the sun, and producing just such tones of light and colour as would be marked in the calendar of Newfoundland or the Hebrides, for a light, fair day. We have again others, in which even the transparency and purity of the tropics, and all the glowing mellow hues of Greece and Naples, are blended together, to shed a hue of paradise on every object. I have already spoken of the intense brilliancy of a winter moonlight, when the air has a polar temperature ; the same brilliancy and a greater clearness is often found in the month of June, and sometimes in July, with the warmth of the equator. There *is*, occasionally, in the summer and autumn, such magical effects of light, such a universal tone of brilliant colouring, that the very air seems tinged ; and an aspect of such harmonious splendour is thrown over every object, that the attention of the most indifferent is awakened, and the lovers of the beautiful in nature enjoy the most lively delight. These are the kind of tints which even the matchless pencil of Claude vainly endeavoured to imitate. They occur a few times every year, a little before sunset, and under a particular state of the air and position of the clouds. These beautiful appearances are not so frequent indeed here, as they are at Naples ; all those warm and delicate colours which we see in Neapolitan pictures, occur there more often ; but I have frequently observed the hills to the south of Boston exhibiting, towards sunset, the same exquisite hues which Vesuvius more frequently presents, and which the Neapolitans, in their paintings of it, always adopt. The vivid beauty which I now speak of, is rare and transient ; but we often enjoy the charms of a transparent atmosphere, where objects stand in bold relief, and even distant ones will present all their lines and angles, *clean* and sharp, from the deep distant sky, as on the shores of Greece ; and we gaze at sunset on gorgeous skies, where all the magnificence, that form and colour can combine, *are* accumulated, to enrapture the eye, and render description hopeless.’ pp. 264—266.

As the author has, if we have not overlooked it, made no distinct mention of the Indian summer, so called, of which a pleasing account is contained in Dr. Drake's view of Cincinnati, we cannot forbear to quote the note descriptive of this season from the Rev. Dr. Freeman's occasional sermons ; gladly seizing this only opportunity presented us, since the commencement of our critical labours, of paying our feeble testimony to the almost unequalled merit of these admirable discourses, and making ourselves the organ of the literary and religious community, in earnestly expressing the hope, that they are not all with which we shall be favoured and instructed, from the same quarter.

‘The southwest is the pleasantest wind, which blows in New England. In the month of October, in particular, after the frosts, which commonly take place at the end of September, it frequently produces two or three weeks of fair weather, in which the air is perfectly transparent, and the clouds, which float in a sky of the purest azure, are adorned with brilliant colours. If at this season a man of an affectionate heart and ardent imagination should visit the tombs of his friends, the southwestern breezes, as they breathe through the glowing trees, would seem to him almost articulate. Though he might not be so wrapt in enthusiasm, as to fancy that the spirits of his ancestors were whispering in his ear ; yet he would at least imagine that he heard the small voice of God. This charming season is called the *Indian Summer*, a name which is derived from the natives, who believe that it is caused by a wind, which comes immediately from the court of their great and benevolent god Cautantowwit, or the southwestern god, the god, who is superiour to all other beings, who sends them every blessing which they enjoy, and to whom the souls of their fathers go after their decease.’

Having expressed ourselves fully on the subject of university education, as it exists among us, in our number for January last, we have no occasion to enter into an examination of our author's fourteenth letter, which is on *Harvard University*. We might not, any more than himself, be likely to pass for impartial critics on this point, and have no wish to play the part of champions. There is one hint only of our author's, which we feel desirous to repeat, viz. that the spirit of this university is in no degree proselyting, and that no effort is made to impose on those, who resort to it, or even to recommend to them any particular system of theological doctrines.

All men who think and reason, or who read and hear without thinking, must needs have their own opinions ; and it would be ridiculous to wish to have it thought, that there is no prevailing current of opinion at Cambridge. Still it is true, that no pains are taken to draw into this current those, who, at any stage of their education, resort thither, and that many pass through and receive the honours of the university, without having received any doctrinal bias from the atmosphere supposed to prevail. We make these remarks, by no means to conciliate favour to the university. Of that it has no need, and it is quite content with its solid, unasserted claims to public confidence, and quite willing that the young men of our country should go wherever they can receive more thorough instruction, can be helped to form a chaster and purer taste, or be imbued with a more manly spirit. We are not sure that we should even have alluded to the subject at all, if we had not happened to know that pains have been taken, by word of mouth and in writing, to convince the public at a distance, that we partake at Cambridge the proselyting character of some of our sister institutions ; the late distinguished head of one of which was wont to say to his pupils, as we have been informed by one of the most respectable of them, ‘Unitarianism is the half way house to hell ; the traveller stops and rests at it, looks round him, and goes on his way !’ From judgments and from language like this we abstain. We have even been told that attempts have been made, and not without success, to instil into our distant brethren of the Episcopalian communion, a jealousy of our university. This is the more unpardonable, as express provision is made for permitting all, who ask it, to attend worship in the Episcopal church in Cambridge.

This work closes with two letters on *Boston and the character of its inhabitants*. We have been too liberal already in our extracts, to admit of any more, or to make any more necessary for the purpose of giving our readers an idea of the work. Having, in the beginning of our article, bestowed a hearty and sincere commendation upon it, and particularly complimented the correctness of the style, we must find fault with the latter for being tainted by a few Americanisms, the last thing we wish to see in American language. *Location* and *grade*, our old enemies, are far too useless to be admitted into pages, in general so correct ; nor do we see any good

reason for eternally using the word *commence* instead of *begin*. There are two or three Italian scraps, which have each an error, and there are one or two other mistakes, which we also suppose to be errors of the press ; such as placing the Passaic falls in Rhode Island, (p. 275.) Is there not moreover an error librarii in the following sentence? ‘The town was first called by the whites Tremont or Trimount, from the predominance of three conspicuous hills ; afterwards called Boston, *from a clergyman of that name*, much respected by some of the first settlers, and who was expected to become their pastor, but he never came over.’

To conclude, this work, though local in its design and subjects, is enlarged and patriotic in its spirit. We hope it will not be long, before no comparisons between the East, and the South, and the West, shall be made, with less intelligence and forbearance, than those before us. All we want is to know each other better. We have now before us a letter from a gentleman, who crossed the Alleghany mountains, little more than thirty years ago, in which he complains of his ‘discoveries’ being misrepresented ; and which, though he seems to have descended the Ohio no farther than Louisville, appears to have excited, as well it might, the attention due to a voyage far beyond the extreme point of civilization.* He might now pass to the Mississippi and ‘discover’ nothing on his way but cultivation, wealth, and plenty, fertile fields, and plantations, inhabited by free and intelligent men ;

And hills all rich with blossomed trees,
And fields which promise corn and wine,
And scattered cities crowning these.

He would find one of these towns, in its growth of twenty years, a third part as large as Boston, and three others a fifth, though it is neither the habit nor the policy of the inhabitants to settle in large cities. He would find the population of one of these *young* states, greater than that of Massachusetts, and another nearly double. Or, if he travelled on the great watery turnpike of the west, he would descend it, together with an immense amount of produce and population, on its *natural railways*, and meet its thousands of tons of steam navigation returning with the conveniences and luxuries, which this produce had purchased. He would find the Indian

* Memoirs of the American Academy, vol. ii. part 1.

population extinct, and an individual of their nation a spectacle in the streets; and in its place an enlightened society, with the vigour and spirit of youth, and the habits of hardihood and intelligence, which belong to the nature of the enterprise they have just achieved. And lastly, he would see in the spirit of emigration, so universally extended, the means provided by nature to assimilate and unite these spreading bands of citizens into one national character.

ART. VII.—*A Discourse on the Religion of the Indian Tribes of North America; delivered before the New York Historical Society, December 20, 1819. By Samuel Farmer Jarvis, D. D. A. A. S. 8vo, pp. 64. [With Notes and Illustrations, pp. 46.] New York, 1820.*

THE history and character of the Indian tribes of North America, which have for some time been a subject of no inconsiderable curiosity and interest with the learned of Europe, have not till lately attracted much notice among ourselves. The very circumstance of our living so near to them, that we could at any moment make such inquiries as should be wished on any point relating to them, has, no doubt, contributed much to our neglect of this part of the history of our continent. While Europeans, who from their remoteness cannot, if we may use the expression, without difficulty obtain specimens of this portion of the human race to complete their collections, have long esteemed the American Indian as one of their most curious subjects of investigation. Just as we remember some years ago to have seen among the curiosities of an European museum an article, which would have excited but little interest in an American, though it is in itself not among the least curious productions of nature,—we mean, that common plant of our continent, the *indian corn*. But as the Indian nations are now fast vanishing, and consequently the individuals of them come less frequently under our observation, we, also, as well as our European brethren, are beginning to take a more lively interest than ever, in the study of their character and history.

The immediate impulse has been given at the present time by the important and interesting publications of Mr. Duponceanu and Mr. Heckewelder, of which we gave an account in